

3251
SS
SS: 1060

FILE COPY
JPRS: 3951

21 September 1960

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

TECHNOLOGICAL REFORM MOVEMENT IN COMMUNIST CHINA

RETURN TO MAIN FILE


20000105 108

DETC QUALITY INSPECTED

"This material, translated under U. S. Government auspices, is distributed for scholarly uses to repository libraries under a grant/subscription arrangement with the Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U. S. Government or the other parties to the arrangement. Queries regarding participation in this arrangement should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York."

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
205 EAST 42nd STREET, SUITE 300
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited



FOREWORD

This publication was prepared under contract by the UNITED STATES JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE, a federal government organization established to service the translation and research needs of the various government departments.

Subscribing Repositories

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Center for Chinese Studies
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

University of California Library
Berkeley 4, California

The University of Chicago Library
Chicago 37, Illinois

Director, East Asian Institute
Columbia University
433 West 117th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Librarian, East Asiatic Library
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Duke University Library
Durham, North Carolina

The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts

Harvard College Library
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Center for East Asian Studies
Harvard University
16 Dunster Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Harvard-Yenching Institute
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

University of Hawaii
Honolulu 14, Hawaii

The Hoover Institution
Stanford, California

University of Illinois Library
Urbana, Illinois

Indiana University Library
Bloomington, Indiana

State University of Iowa Library
Iowa City, Iowa

Institute for Asian Studies
Marquette University
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

Continued

ASIA Library
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

University of Michigan Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Michigan State University Library
East Lansing, Michigan

University of Minnesota Library
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

The Ohio State University Libraries
1858 Neil Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

University of Oregon Library
Eugene, Oregon

University of Pittsburgh Library
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Princeton University Library
Princeton, New Jersey

Research Institute, Sino-Soviet Bloc
P.O. Box 3521, Washington 7, D. C.

The University of Rochester Lib.
Rochester 20, New York

Institute of Asian Studies
St. John's Univ. Graduate School
Jamaica 32, New York

University of San Francisco
San Francisco 17, California

McKissick Memorial Library
University of South Carolina
Columbia 1, South Carolina

University of Southern Calif. Lib.
Los Angeles 7, California

University of Texas Library
Austin 12, Texas

Alderman Library
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Far Eastern Library
University of Washington
Seattle 5, Washington

Yale University Library
New Haven, Connecticut

JPRS: 3951

CSO: 3911-D

TECHNOLOGICAL REFORM MOVEMENT IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Following is a translation of selected articles from various issues of the Chinese-language newspaper Chieh-fang Jih Pao, Shanghai. Date of issue, page, and author, if any, are given under individual article headings.

<u>Table of Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Shanghai Propaganda Department Makes Yet Better Advance	1
II. Start a Mass Movement for Well-Trained Technicians	6
III. Go Forward With the Banner of Leninism Raised Higher	8
IV. The Poor Should Be More Revolutionary	19
V. Unlimited Sources of Creative Power Among the Masses	23

I. SHANGHAI PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT MAKES YET BETTER ADVANCE

22 April 1960
Page 3

Unsigned Article

The Party propaganda work in Shanghai's plants, in connection with the popular movement for technological reform and revolution, has been greatly expanded and raised. It has made a big impression; it is rich in content, manifold in expression, and is marked by a high degree of intelligence. It is powerfully promoting a leap forward in production, a big revolution in technology and culture. Many plants have gained much advanced experience in the study of ideology and spirit arousing by propaganda, popular art and so on, bringing to light many progressive units. In order to summarize the exchange of experiences, further to arouse fervor, create deep impressions, start the popular movements of comparing, learning, overtaking, and helping, and to stir up new enthusiasm for studying and proclaiming Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, and achieve yet better results in propaganda work, the Shanghai Party propaganda bureau, held a big "experience" meeting on 18 April.

Each Party Group Strengthened Its Leadership and Achieved Party-Wide Grasp of Thinking, and Doing Party-Wide Thought Work.

In the study of theory, and spirit arousing by propaganda, popular art, and so on, certain firms which had accomplished notable results told of their experiences. These firms were: Ch'iu-hsin Shipyard, Petroleum Parts Plant, State-Cotton Mill No. 2, and the Shanghai Electric Cable Plant, represented by their respective Party committees, and the Hankow Native Medicine Branch. With a big array of facts they told how in the tide of a big advance in building socialism, the Party propaganda work had entered a wider and deeper new stage. First, Party groups exercised more control. Party committees and cadres in practical work had come to appreciate advanced thinking and theory in improving the means of production, and its great use in stimulating productivity. Party committees took a stronger and deeper grip on propaganda work. At Mill No. 2, every time the Party committee discussed central work, it simultaneously studied the needs of propaganda work, promptly assigning tasks, indicating the direction, suggesting slogans, coordinating resources and scheduling the time. Party committees likewise regularly examined results. If this work had not been done on time and vigorously, was lacking in spirit, or not impressive enough, they would criticize at once and supervise improvement. Workshop Party groups also gave heed to improving the leadership of propaganda work. The workshops initiated propaganda teams, led by main or branch committees, combining with trade-union and Corps forces of propaganda. Party cells also had special persons to undertake propaganda, unifying the work all down the line. The Shanghai Electric Cable, Cotton Mill No. 2, Petroleum Parts, and other units found ways of improving thought-education among activists in

the propaganda corps. Petroleum Parts frequently held conferences among such activists, explaining to them the situation, and summarizing propaganda work; they emphasized competition, implanted among the activists ideas concerning the four "goods" (good thinking, good production, good propaganda, good relations with the masses), the concept of model soldiers and the like, in order to raise their professional competence. They gave the most attention to grasping their thoughts and their tendencies; in a planned way they enlisted the activists to study Chairman Mao's Yen-an speech and the like, to help them straighten out their political viewpoint and divest themselves of any bourgeois influence. After the study, they all understood they must first in their own thinking plant the banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, before they were able to do good propaganda work. At the Ch'iu-hsin Shipyard, while enlisting the workmen to study Mao's works, the Party committee itself joined the study cells, the secretary himself doing the teaching. Many units stressed that Party members lead in propaganda, to show Party-wide attention to thought and to doing thought-work.

Give Much Heed to Study of Theory, Intelligently Use Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts to Arm the Masses, Raise the Intelligent Quality of Propaganda

In all political and production movements, to counter the chief problems in the masses' thinking, raise it to the level of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, and proclaim the high quality of the Party main line, form the chief feature of these units' propaganda work. To change the old way of talking of things as they happen, to make propaganda, intelligently use Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts to arm the masses, these will make propagandists have higher intellectual activity. After study and proclaiming of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, many ordinary workmen learn to use the dialectic method of settle the big questions arising in thought, production and work, as they continually raise their Communist consciousness. The Party committee of the Ch'iu-hsin Shipyard singled out the chief problems in actual production, in political struggle, and the real conditions in workmen's thinking; they formulated topics and carried on study of theory, with fine results. During the technological revolution, the shipyard Party committee, in order to counter the questions which arose among workmen during the movement, concerning toil and trouble, and their muddled understanding of coarse and fine, poor and rich, men and things, step by step enlisted the men to study Chairman Mao's works, such as "Description of a Cooperative", "Old Stupid Moves a Mountain," "Sparks Kindle a Prairie Fire" thus helping the men gain the concept of materialist dialectics, and pushing the technological revolution to crest after crest. In less than 3 months, as a result of the plant becoming mechanized or partly so, production rose from last year's proportion of 46.8% to this year's 97.3%. Many workmen said:

Magic herb and wonder drugs,
Can't compete with Chairman's works;
Holding this golden key,
Opening thought and production both.

In order to meet the masses' objections arising from the speed-up of the fine-thread looms in the big leap forward, which were expressed as follows: "Don't pass speed limits"; "The machine is old, it can't go fast"; "Speeding spoils the orderly process of production", and similar conservative ideas, Cotton Mill No. 2 kept on having meetings to educate and to lead the workmen so that they may realize that the objective laws of growth are from uneven to even, from disorder to order. After implanting the idea of continuous revolution, step by step, leap after leap, they did away with all worry on the part of the workers, aroused their confidence and encouraged them to exert their efforts in trying for more speed. In this nation-wide technological revolution, they aroused a three-day revolutionary excitement; they caused a big turnover in 100,000 looms, while pressing the use of semi-automatic ones, and also keeping the work machines clean.

Closely Coordinate Actual Struggle and the Organization of a Thought Campaign to Make Thought the Pioneer in All Work

In conjunction with the actual struggle, another feature of these plants' propaganda work is to serve a big leap forward in production, and to effect a big technological revolution. Under the unified leadership of the Party committee, and in keeping with production and the technological revolution, one thought campaign after another was organized to meet the actual thinking, to clarify the objective, with clear aim, stress on the center, rousing slogans, becoming pioneers in every kind of work, strongly spreading progressive ideas and experience. The Petroleum Parts committee started campaign of production on one hand, and a thought campaign on the other, and in so doing, succeeded in pushing its propaganda work, and arresting the chief tendencies in thinking. In February this year, some people in the factory feared hardship in carrying the technological revolution further. They said, "Hills are gone and water is exhausted", and "there is nothing more to do".

At that time, the nationally-known progressive producer, Kuo Fu-hao, having in Harbin joined the technological revolution spot-meeting, returned to the factory. He told how Harbin workers had destroyed superstition, and given much energy to the automatic line. Kuo also talked about his own bold imagination. The Party committee took advantage of this matter, and in one day, using cartoons, posters, and such means opened exhibitions called "Seen and Heard in Harbin" and "Mystic Songs of Kuo Fu-hao", to show Kuo's bravery and strong purpose with which to destroy the workers' superstition about the automatic line. This step proved very useful in promoting the technological revolution. In 3

months, the plant's resources were focussed on hastening the technological revolution program. At that time it appeared that some shops and bureaus were unwilling to spend time on small reforms, claiming that these held no promise. The factory then countered such thinking, helped the shops conjoin big, middle, and small, so as to focus on proclaiming that the technological revolution was wide-spread. It showed the proper course to be taken, and gained big results. In proclaiming the technological revolution in its plants, Cotton Mill No. 2 paid special attention to progressives, and cited cases of "heroic" workers. One case cited concerned Miss Shang Shih-ch'uan, who, as a model pioneer, holds a high speed record. This example was used to allay the fear of many workers that they could not stand high speed. Another case cited concerned the progressive exploits of old Huang Chung and Chou Ch'ang-ken, who made China's first carding [?] machine. This instance was used to destroy the false belief: "We cannot ourselves make precision products". A third case was about the woman worker Chou Wen-ying, who made a progressive exploit in a belly-wiping semi-automatic machine cleaner. It was aimed at destroying the false belief that "women workers cannot understand skills; they cannot make reforms". The Mill also launched the movement for clean work and automatic or semi-automatic operations. It publicized the progressive exploits of an old woman worker, Hsieh T'ai-mei, in making new goods, with a view to stimulating all workers in the weaving sections to make 100 new products in one evening.

The Mass Movement for Much Propaganda has Produced a New Condition
of a Myriad Keys for a Myriad Locks

Another feature of the propaganda work in these units is the much energy put into popular movements. The outward forms are very lively, rich and varied; everyone seems at work with propaganda, a thousand keys for a thousand locks. Cotton Mill No. 2, in all this excitement about technological revolution, aroused over 2/3 of its operatives to do propaganda work. As soon as the Party committee gave the order, a vast army of propaganda workers, with plant papers, blackboards, radio stations, loud-speakers, news tellers, persuaders, gathered around to do this work, the new effort sponsored by the Party committee. In the Electric Cable plant, 40% of the workers joined the movement as art activists; and recently in technological revolution performances many who had not taken part before, now joined and were warmly welcomed by the multitude. The art work in this plant exactly fits in with the Party's central work, with its activities on hand, its poetry, drawings, and songs. Poems and pictures filled the walls, as the workmen said: "Enter the plant, everything is humming; raise your head, an ocean of poems". In the propaganda, many plants showed rich and varied forms. The Petroleum Parts showed "Bulletin of the Red Open Door", "Champion in the New Tide", "Sketch of Production Progress", which the employees liked so much that they said: "This is a campaign signal, a thermometer of the movement; the more we see such things, the more will be our zeal".

The vice-chief of propaganda, Pai Yen, of the Shanghai Party Committee, spoke at the meeting. He referred to the new situation and the features of the new stage in propaganda, and then pointed out how the Party propagandists should fit in with the current great revolutionary situation, determined to be heralds of the main line and pioneers in the big advance, always improving the quality of propaganda, making it a powerful instrument in the hands of the Party. He said that to attain this objective, we must be firmly under the Party guidance, closely rely on the masses, closely conjoin with the current political struggle and production struggle to carry on colorful propaganda work; we must widely, deeply, persistently study the works of Chairman Mao, strongly implanting Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts as the sole guiding idea in propaganda work; we must promptly seize upon the beginnings of any new thing, shouting and demonstrating in its behalf, trying hard to make it grow quickly, and finally, we must honestly learn by experience, encouraging and starting popular movements of "compete, learn, overtake, and help". He urged all to raise high the Mao banner, resist rightists, arouse fervor, show yet better advanced in propaganda, attain bigger results, to welcome the meeting of Champions of Culture.

At the meeting, the Party's Hongkew ward committee propaganda team threw out a challenge for the "four relatives" in propaganda work (relative study of theory, relative education in propaganda, relative popular art, relative habits of thought). The 17-mill P'u-to ward Party committee bureau likewise challenged other mills throughout Shanghai. These were warmly accepted by Party committees of the two wards. The railway office also responded, and then challenged other groups. All promised that after returning home they would at once get busy, hoisting the banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, helping and learning from each other, and would boldly go forward to better advance in propaganda work, to speed the glorious building of socialism.

II. START A MASS MOVEMENT FOR WELL-TRAINED TECHNICIANS

22 April 1950
Page 3

Editorial

In the present technological revolution movement, factories and plants have made many new articles and implements that conjoin the coarse and fine, and are vigorously marketing them. As the equipment becomes new, the "old soldier" takes on a "new gun"; however, with the "new gun", the skills which the producer originally had for his work, cannot meet the demands of the new machines, and some "old soldiers" have become "new soldiers". This is a big change. So before us lies an urgent task. It is that at the time of the big change in things, we should bring forward "well-trained technicians" to enable "old soldiers" to use familiarly "new guns", in other words, to enable producers to master new techniques, and should quickly let a large supply of new machines, new implements, and new techniques be put to use and bear fruit in production. This is an important element in confirming, spreading and raising, experience in the technological revolution.

Why must we speedily raise workmen's competence to such an important position? This is because after all a machine is something dead, and to make it show its power in production, we must also use human effort to operate it. If we do not understand how to use and control it, or are not skilled in its use, the machine cannot be fully and effectively employed. For example, the method of semi-automatic dropping of threads has already been introduced, and has yielded good results; however, there a few plants where the workers, who do not follow the rules, or are not well-trained, stop and start repeatedly. As a result, the technical equipment is good, but gets no notable results in production.

Some say that it takes a definite period of time to master and get familiar with new techniques. Of course, to master thoroughly a new technique takes some time; but since the workers have shown a high degree of alertness and initiative, this period can be very much shortened. From the present high tide of technological reform and revolution, we may see that many, many new machines and tools were designed and made by the workmen themselves in overcoming various difficulties. In the past very few workmen ever touched a machine. They had little culture and little knowledge of techniques. Yet after a painstaking struggle, they finally made new machines, and their speed in doing so was amazing. Sometimes only a few days were required for them to start and complete a machine. This shows that since workmen generally can overcome obstacles and make new machines, and reform speedily the techniques, they can likewise overcome obstacles, speedily learn and control new techniques. At present many units in confirming, spreading, and raising, have stirred up a tide for workmen to learn techniques, making many of them masters of new techniques quickly. This is proof enough.

Since this time the tools of production are being reformed very quickly, and the range of reform is very wide, there is much urgency about the new machines and tools to get into production. In raising the workmen's technical competence, we cannot use the old methods, but have to make a change in the form and way of training. In fact, many units have already found some speedy ways of raising workmen's technical skill. Some are using the method of "training on the battle-front". They do not wait until the whole machine is remodeled and made, but enlist the workmen to popularize and improve it, at the same time learning the techniques. When the remodeling is finished, the workmen will have known the techniques and can put it very quickly into production. Some let the workmen be trained "on the job" using text-books, on-the-spot conferences, demonstrations and other ways of speedy training. Whatever methods are used, they should all recognize workmen's eagerness to learn techniques, boldly go ahead, using popular movements. Units so doing will get good results and the workmen learning quickly.

In order to lead the workmen to master quickly the new techniques, and raise speedily their technical competence, we must improve thought-education and education in the theory of culture and skills. Workmen generally, after technical reforms, and renewal of equipment, being more familiar with their old ways of doing, when first learning to control new machines, will sometimes feel a lack of "second nature" knowledge. So the leading cadres in the plants must patiently help them raise their intellectual level, destroy superstition, strengthen their determination and confidence for learning and mastering the new skills. At the same time, in line with the advancing technological revolution, a cultural revolution has appeared in strength; so all plants should still more enlist their workmen to study culture and the theory of techniques, so that the two revolutions will stimulate and push forward one another. Only thus can we help the workmen to master quickly the new machines and skills, and keep on creating new machines and skills and new products.

III. GO FORWARD WITH THE BANNER OF LENINISM RAISED HIGHER

23 April 1959
Page 3

Shih Hsi-min
Shanghai Party Committee

Comrades, Friends:

Today is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat. Our Shanghai people and those of all the nation and progressive men throughout the world, with reverent feelings, come to remember Lenin, to recall his imperishable rich achievements for the proletariat, for laboring people and for all humanity, and his immeasurable contributions to Marxism. The brilliance of Leninism shines brighter and brighter over the whole world. His banner is one of victory. It leads the world's laboring people and the oppressed races from victory to victory, for the complete liberation of all mankind!

Leninism is Marxism of the revolutionary age of imperialism and of the proletariat. The great Marx and Engels, living in the free competition of the capitalist age, first revealed the law of capitalism's certain collapse and the inevitable victory of socialism and Communism. They created Marxism, and lighted the great avenue for the liberation of mankind. After these two men, capitalism turned into imperialism, and the world was on the eve of the proletarian revolution. But at that time, the tide of revision of the second international swept a greater part of the world's labor movement. As Lenin said at the time, all opportunists "are a family of brothers, praising one another, learning from one another, and together attacking 'creedal' Marxism". The great Lenin used his boundless loyalty to the international labor movement and his firm viewpoint founded on Marxist principles, waged a brave outstanding struggle, finally destroying the revisionist tide of the second international, and preserving the purity of Marxism. In philosophy, politics and economics, and in scientific socialism, he developed and enriched Marxism all along the line, thus opening a new stage for Marxism.

Lenin, tracing the growth of capitalism, scientifically showed that imperialism is monopolist, parasitic, and is the highest stage of capitalism. He pointed out that imperialism brings the conflicts of capitalism to a climax; and under such conditions, contrary to what revisionists have said, this is not an age of capitalism peacefully permeating a socialist age, but a socialist revolution of the proletariat. Lenin revealed the law of imperialist nations' uneven growth, showing that the proletariat could break through imperialism's weakest link, first gaining victory in one or more countries. Lenin discerningly discussed the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution, which is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He made clear that the liberation of the proletariat can never come by way of revisionism, but only through revolution, by smashing the machines of bourgeois nations, and bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed

out that without such a dictatorship of the proletariat, there can never be any socialism, still less any socialist victory. Lenin paid much attention to the liberation movements of colonial and semi-colonial countries. He pointed out that in the imperialist age such conflicts are unavoidable. He clarified the question of leadership power of the proletariat in bourgeois democratic revolutions; and pointed out that the national liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial places are a part of the world proletarian revolutionary movement. Lenin offered the theory of founding a Marxist political party. He proved that a Marxist political party is the proletariat's progressive organized regiment, the highest form of organized proletariat. He showed that the source of a party's power lies in its unity and in its close ties with the masses. It is because of Leninism, a Lenin-like party, and a great leader like Lenin, that the international labor movement and the national liberation movements have acquired such a brand-new status.

The great revolutionary leader Lenin himself founded the Russian Bolshevik party, the Soviet Communist Party. This party is the brave vanguard of the world proletariat. Under Lenin's personal leadership, the Russian proletariat raised the red flag of the great October socialist revolution, overthrew the landlord bourgeois rule, and founded world's first proletarian dictatorship nation, opening a new historical era for humanity. The great victory of the October revolution pointed out for the world proletarian revolution a wholesome avenue leading towards socialism. The Soviet Union's existence, its growing up and its strength, more and more attract the world's people. Since the day of its birth, it has become the hope of the world's progressives. The laboring people of China have a strong sympathy for the victory of the October revolution, and for the great Soviet Union from first to last. Under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, our people during the first domestic revolution, during the hard days of the Long March, and the brave liberation battles, closely linked their own liberation with the struggles of the Soviet people. Lenin's name, the Soviet people's victory and their help to our victory aroused our people to wage a persistent struggle against their enemies. After the founding of the great Chinese People's Republic, we and the Soviet Union joined in a permanent alliance; and the peoples of both nations together have trodden on the great road to building socialism and Communism, flying high the banner of Leninism, and marched forward hand in hand and side by side.

After the October revolution, the Soviet people under the guidance of the Soviet Communist Party, followed the path opened up by Lenin, and founded the first great socialist nation in human history. The Soviet man-made satellite and the successful shooting of an artificial planet opened the way for mankind to conquer the universe. The Soviet Union, in preserving world peace and resisting imperialist aggression, has made a great contribution. Now, the Soviet people, under the guidance of the Soviet Communist committee and the government headed by Comrade Khrushchev, have entered a new age of an all-round growth of

building Communism, and, in striving for peace, have carried out a series of activities tending towards easing the international situation. For forty years, all these victories gained by the Soviet people are the great victories of Leninism. The Chinese people are extremely pleased and cheerful, and they express much gratitude over the achievements of the Soviet people under the teachings of the great Lenin.

After Lenin died, the world proletarian revolution, under the bright torch of Leninism, followed the path of the October revolution opened by Lenin and won big victories. In 1949, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, and the birth of the Chinese People's Republic were a very great revolutionary achievement which represented a continuation of the October revolution. Our victory made a big opening on the Eastern battlefield against imperialism, thus greatly increasing the forces of the socialist camp. Since the end of World War II, a number of countries have left the capitalist ranks and turned to the path of socialist development, forming the socialist camp which embraces over 1/3 of the world's population. Now the people of socialist countries are striding ahead like giants, rapidly fostering their people's economy. The unequalled superiority and strong vitality of socialism shines like the brilliance of the morning sun. The socialist world's will to peace has become a strong factor in preserving it.

The national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies, to which Lenin gave so much care and interest during his life, have already expanded a great deal. At present, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, movements for gaining and keeping national independence are rushing forward like a big tide. Despite barbarous machinations practiced by the imperialists headed by the U.S., bent on scattering and dividing the forces of national liberation, under the bright star of Lenin's theory of national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies, and with the help of socialist forces throughout the world, there is no power on earth that can resist the growth of national revolutionary movements. The final burial of the colonial system is already not far off.

The course of history, with more and more facts, proves Lenin's judgments. Imperialist rule, struck by the rushing tides of the revolutionary current caused by socialism and national revolutionary strength, is already falling behind the western hills, and is tottering. Within imperialism are serious conflicts, and perennial crises. The means of production have restricted productivity. Imperialism's parasitism and decay are worse than when Lenin was alive. These nations' economy is shaky. It depends on militarism. Not only does it fail to reduce, but rather it has increased, the main crisis of capitalism. The law of uneven development of economy and politics, which Lenin pointed out, keeps on functioning. Presently, imperialism is trying to seize the sources of raw materials, and to obtain new markets, more than ever before. Under US sponsorship, militarism has been resurrected in Japan and West Germany, breeding-grounds of war, and these countries have renewed their competition in world markets. Within the

imperialist countries, conflicts have become more acute between the monopolistic capital and people in general. Laboring people have recognized more and more that only by socialist revolution can they escape their troubles. Big strikes are becoming more and more common; the laboring people's struggle for peace, democracy, and their living rights is gaining in intensity as the days go by. To escape its certain fate, US imperialism is actively preparing for war, and at the same time talking of peace, hoping to create among the world's people a mistaken dream, and to benumb their fighting spirit. However, no matter how good US imperialism's clever talk is, and despite the modern revisionists led by the Tito bloc with the aid of US imperialists, they cannot change Lenin's scientific dictum: War is a product of the exploiting system; modern war arises from the imperialist system. Imperialism, to reach the victim of its seizure and oppression, must have two hands: one to plot war, and the other to make gestures for "peace". So we too must have two hands to oppose imperialism, one to expose the imperialist deception, trying hard to get real, lasting, peace; and the other to prepare, in case imperialism suddenly unleashes war, to wage a righteous war to end imperialism's unrighteous war, and to destroy the roots of war. At present, US imperialism's plots are more and more resisted by the world's peace-lovers and her widespread deception is being recognized by more and more people. US imperialism persistently plotting for war will result in its becoming more isolated in the eyes of the world and meeting one painful defeat after another.

Comrades, Friends: We are living in this kind of a brand new age. It is the age of proletarian revolution, of socialist and Communist victory. No matter how all reactionary groups try to stop the wheel of history's progress, the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist throughout the world. Imperialism will not last long.

Comrades, Friends: We Chinese have always looked upon Lenin as our own very intimate and great leader and friend. Lenin first and last gave attention to the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. From the Boxer movement to the revolution of 1911, from the founding of the Communist Party, from the beginning of the Chinese workers' and peasants' movements under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, all changes arising in the Chinese revolution have received Lenin's interest and care. Every time the Chinese people rose against imperialist aggression and resisted oppression by feudal forces, Lenin with earnest enthusiasm always stood beside the Chinese people, every time the Chinese people's revolution met with reverse, Lenin always pointed out that their revolutionary struggle would not cease, that the new-born resources could not be resisted, and that victory would certainly belong to the Chinese people. The success of the Chinese revolution is inseparable from Lenin's name. Before the October revolution, the Chinese people were groping for the truth that would save the nation and people, taking many winding ways. Only after the October revolution, did they discover Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese revolution, under the proletarian leadership, became a part of the world proletarian

revolution, and it began with the "May 4" movement. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, this movement "was under the call of the then world revolution and under that of the Russian revolution. It was under the call of Lenin that it started". At that time, the Chinese proletariat had grown along with the growth of the Chinese industry. On the basis of unity between the Chinese workers' movement and Marxism-Leninism, Lenin long before foresaw the birth of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Because the Chinese Communist Party came to being under Lenin's influence, from the beginning it followed Lenin's party-building principles, building and growing after the Bolshevik model. It has its discipline, it adopts the method of self-criticism, and it is a party that keeps touch with the masses. It is loyal to the proletarian revolution, loyal to the international labor movement, loyal to Marxist-Leninist truth, unchangingly waging a struggle to bring about socialism and Communism in China. The Chinese Communist Party, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has always carried high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, waging an unrelenting struggle against all rightist opportunists and "leftist" opportunists within the Party who deviated from and oppose Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has always firmly resisted revisionist misinterpretations and distortions of Marxism-Leninism, and also regularly struggled against all sorts of creedalism. The Chinese Communist Party has held fast to Marxist-Leninist principles and fought against rightist opportunism and "leftist" opportunism. It grew up and became strong in this conflict. Long ago in 1902, Lenin predicted: "Give us an organization of revolutionists, and we will over run Russia!" Indeed, the Russian proletariat, under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party personally formed by Lenin, did "overthrow" Czarist Russia, changing it into the socialist Soviet Union. Likewise, in China, there appeared a Chinese Communist Party on the Lenin model, and the Chinese people, who for so many years had been heavily exploited and oppressed, now finally obtained a big uplift and a big liberation. The old China, colonial and semi-colonial, finally was re-made into a socialist new China!

In November 1919, Lenin already pointed out to oriental Communists: "You face a task which Communists the world over have never met before: namely, you must use Communist theory and methods under unusual conditions such as no European countries have". He also said: "This is a hard and unusual task, and also a "specially noble one; you must push this task forward, and also solve it according to your own experience".

The Chinese Communist Party, under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's guidance, is always examining the actual conditions in China, uniting all Communist theory with the real experience of the international labor movement, setting forth in varying historical stages different revolutionary tasks, defining our Party's main line in leading the democratic revolution, in the transition period and in building socialism; it has also decided on appropriate policies, mobilizing and unifying many

millions of people, enhancing their consciousness, fully stirring and coordinating their active and creative nature, to advance on the Marxist-Leninist path.

The Chinese people, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, have been through 30 years of brave struggle and finally overthrown the three big loads on the Chinese people's heads: imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, gaining a great victory for the democratic revolution. Since we have set up the proletarian dictatorship in the People's Republic, we have smoothly accomplished the transition from democratic revolution to socialist revolution, and have begun what Lenin calls the "transition period from capitalism to Communism". Under the guidance of the Party's main line for the socialist transition, our Party has taken a series of steps embracing the nation's special features and so in less than 7 years has practically completed the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist trade and industry, and basically solved the problem of ownership of the means of production, "who conquers whom?" On the economic front, after the socialist revolution had won a victory, there was also a big victory for the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, which greatly stimulated the active and creative nature of the whole nation for the socialist revolution, preparing the prerequisites for a big leap forward in the people's economy. Stimulated by the Party's main line of building socialism, in 1958 there appeared a big leap forward in the people's economy, and the countryside organized the commune way of life. The main line, the big leap forward, and communes are the three big assets for building socialism in China. Our country by its successive leaps forward in 1958 and 1959 has already completed the chief goals of the second Five-Year plan 3 years ahead of time. This year is a year of continuing the big leap forward. We have full reason to believe that under the guidance of the Communist Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we will continue to have a big leap forward in the last 3 years of the Second Five-Year Plan, and will complete 2-3 years ahead of time the outlines of the nation's agricultural expansion, and will in less than 10 years catch up with and surpass Britain in the production of chief industrial products. Thus we will greatly expedite the building of socialism in China, and will at an early date make China a strong socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.

All China's victories in revolution and constructive work are brilliant victories of Marxist-Leninism in China. They are all victories of its universal truths, and China's practical outcomes in revolution and construction conjoined with the brilliant victories of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts.

Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i has said: "Such wide proclaiming of Marxism-Leninism in our nation of 650 million people, and the fruits of its victory in the practice of revolution and construction is at any rate an important event. In the history of the spread of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, China's revolution and construction have their own peculiar features. But certain important features can also reappear in other nations. China's experience has to a certain extent international significance."

Comrades, Friends: All the victories in China's revolution and construction are constantly strengthening the power of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. They add to the resources making for world peace. They make imperialists and all those against the proletariat fear and tremble. Because of this, they constantly resort to all sorts of evil slander and abuse against our country. Imperialism, especially American, fear our great accomplishments and our daily increasing influence, and describe our power the "Communist menace", or call it "a curse to the whole world". Modern revisionists in Yugoslavia gladly play the part for imperialists, and shamelessly attack as "creedalism" the ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, which have continually guided our revolution and construction to success. They are enemies and rebels. The more they abuse us, the more they show that what we do is right and correct! Else, if they always praise us, speak well of us, where will that place us? Does not that show us to be doing something stupid to help our enemies? Numberless historical facts show that all obstinate anti-Communist factions cannot endure. They pick up stones to injure others, but wind up harming themselves.

Comrades, Friends: The international proletariat faces the sacred duty of resolutely defending Leninism, and thoroughly condemning modern revisionism. Communists from every country and workers' parties in their Moscow conference statement have vigorously denounced modern revisionism. The statement says: "Under present conditions, the chief danger is revisionism, or rightist opportunism. It is the expression of bourgeois consciousness, it benumbs the revolutionary ardor of the working-class, it demands the preservation or the restoration of capitalism." We Communists in the struggle against modern revisionists must learn Lenin's persistence and bravery in the conflict of the second international, and his revolutionary, fighting spirit.

Everyone knows that after Marx and Engels, there came a time of rule by revisionists of the second international of Pai-en-ssu-tan /Trotzky?, K'ac-Tz'u-chi /Kautzsche? and others, who shamelessly discredited Marxism and betrayed the proletariat revolution. However, they could not terrify Lenin. Lenin was a loyal student of Marx and Engels. He boldly stepped forward, holding fast the truth, stemming the tide, unflinchingly waging a war of principle against second international revisionists, and resolutely cleansing the "dirty stables". Lenin was at that time the most staunch and courageous defender of Marxism, the greatest standard-bearer against revisionism. As a result, he not only destroyed second international revisionism in its various forms, but also in this conflict positively promoted Marxism, raising it to new heights.

In this conflict, Lenin exposed the sources of revisionism and its class-nature. He pointed out that revisionism is not just an incidental occurrence, but a necessary consequence of the growth of capitalist society. In the dying stage of capitalism, the bourgeois class, wishing to prolong its life, must all the more use violence and oppression and armed aggression to destroy the international labor movement. It must all the more use the techniques of deception to bribe rebels to pose as Marxists and destroy from within.

Comrades, Friends: Historical facts tell us that just so long as the proletariat-bourgeois struggle is not ended, the conflict between Marxism and revisionism will not cease either. As Lenin predicted at the time: In the closing years of the 19th century, the thought-conflict between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism is only the prelude to the great revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the market-brokers' hesitation and weakness towards the total victorious progress of their own class". And "when the future proletarian revolution breaks out, the working-class will certainly again experience such struggle on a scale not otherwise known". The nature of today's opposition to modern revisionism is still that of carrying on Lenin's struggle at the close of the 19th century.

Everyone sees that in this age of a new turning-point in history, with the east wind overcoming the west wind, imperialism is more madly using the method of violent suppression and armed aggression, and also more cleverly using the method of deception, hoping to preserve and restore the capitalist system. Besides hiring in their own workers' movement, they have also formed rebel blocs controlling the government regime, such as the Yugoslavia ruling class, to develop a new revisionism. Such a bloc not only can put on the cloak of Marxism, but also can use the national power and raise the placard of the Communist Party and of socialism to discredit Marxism. Thus the task of modern revisionists is more mean and shameful than that of their predecessors. They not only serve to oppose the workers' movements in individual capitalist countries, acting as running dogs for individual capitalists, but also serve the entire imperialist camp to oppose the world proletariat and socialism, acting as running dogs for the whole imperialist camp. So their role is not merely to destroy individual workers' movements, not only oppose proletarian unity in individual capitalist countries and revolutionary movements, but also to destroy the whole Communist movement, to destroy the socialist system and the unity of the socialist camp. It is not hard to understand how imperialism, chiefly US imperialism, needs such a type of modern revisionism, to be an implement of class-war in the international arena.

Old revisionism wanted to show that Marxism was already obsolete, and modern revisionism wants to show that Leninism is obsolete. As pointed out in the pronouncement of the Moscow conference of Communists and workers' parties: "Modern revisionism wants to slander the great theories of Marxism-Leninism, saying they are 'obsolete', as if now they have lost their meaning for social progress. Revisionism wants to

corrode the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism, to destroy the confidence of the working-class and of the laboring people in socialism". Modern revisionists are like their predecessors, focussing their attention on Lenin's theory of class struggle, earnestly desiring to re-write this theory, to expunge the living soul of Leninism. They claim that they have entered upon a "new age", namely, that "classic capitalism is over", and that State monopolistic capital has become a "socialist factor", that in socialist nations "class struggle is being stopped, and socialist nations should perish". They erase the fundamental distinction between the two big camps, wipe out the boundaries between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, do away with class struggle in the international sphere, and conceal domestic class conflicts. In sum, it is that class struggles are outmoded", Marxism "obsolete", "capitalism peacefully grows within socialism", and such distortions of the truth. They can only re-echo the outdated tunes of Trotsky Bernstein [?] and Kautzsche [?]. However, they vainly hope to use these dirty things to bury the whole international Communist movement, and to destroy the proletarian revolution on an international scale. The aforesaid declaration states: "The existence of bourgeois influence is the domestic source of revisionism. Bowing to imperialist oppression is the foreign source of revisionism". For this reason, so long as imperialism continues, so long as the life and death struggle between capitalism and socialism on the political and ideological fronts in socialist countries has not yet been settled, the duty of opposing modern revisionism will not be ended. The ideas of Leninism were useful in the past; they are useful still. So for the sake of Communist victory and the unity of the international labor movement, we must raise high the banner of Leninism, carry on his purpose and like him, keep up the struggle unrelentingly against modern revisionism, and carry it on to the finish!

Comrades, Friends: Today, as we commemorate the 90th birthday of Lenin, the great leader of the proletarian revolution, we, the Shanghai Party and people, under the guidance of the Party committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are striving to carry on the grand plans of the leap forward, to finish ahead of time the national program of agricultural expansion, to have our chief industrial products in less than 10 years exceed those of Britain, or at least catch up with them. The Shanghai people are now vigorously pushing a nation-wide technological revolution, and a campaign in production, in culture, in thought, and are on a large scale establishing urban communes. New things are happening every day in profusion. All this signifies that the whole appearance of Shanghai will undergo yet deeper changes, and will speed up our building of a socialist new Shanghai. At this time, while observing the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, we want to study still deeper Lenin's revolutionary spirit and his theory, and yet more firmly grasp the thought-weapons of Marxism-Leninism. This is a reliable proof that we will go on winning yet bigger victories.

Lenin's theories are a very rich storehouse of Marxism. Since the very first founding of the Chinese Communist Party, it has made the study and spreading of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine one of its important duties. In the very bitter days of the revolutionary struggle, our Party mapped out every conceivable plan for translating and publishing the works of classic writers on Marxism-Leninism. For several decades the works of Lenin, like those of Marx and Engels, have enjoyed a very wide distribution. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been grasped by more and more cadres and ordinary people. Last year the Party central committee published the complete works of Lenin. This year they are publishing selections from him. This is a tremendous advantage to many cadres and people to learn Leninism. We must deeply study the theory of Leninism, deeply study the universal doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, along with Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts on practical experience of revolution and construction in China, and be able to use these in actual practice in these fields.

We want to learn the great Lenin's boundless loyalty to the proletariat, to learn his determined revolutionary viewpoint and his unbending fighting spirit. Lenin gave his whole life to liberating the world's proletariat and laboring people. He loved laboring people without stint and fiercely hated the enemies of the people. During his whole life he tirelessly led and organized the laboring people to fight resolutely against reactionaries that oppressed and enslaved the people, against rebels among the proletariat, against all types of revisionism. He defended the unity of the workers' movement and fought all his life unrelentingly against all mistaken trends opposed to Marxism. Lenin was a thoroughgoing revolutionary of the proletariat. He has never satisfied or stood still on victories already won. He appealed to us "to use revolutionary spirit in our work". His spirit is a brilliant example to study forever.

We want to learn Lenin's boundless loyalty to trusting workers and peasants and his revolutionary way of relying on and keeping in touch with the masses. Lenin always looked upon toilers as the creators of history, with great enthusiasm supported their revolutionary initiative. He praised their contribution of labor on Saturdays, saying that it was the beginning of Communist reality. He looked upon revolutionary movements among the masses as the normal revolutionary order of things. He rebuked without pity the lordly attitude of bourgeois towards mass movements. He constantly appealed for close touch with the masses in order to learn from them, understand their actions, and carefully study their real experience in struggle. He himself was a revolutionary leader closely connected with the toilers. Each of us revolutionaries must learn Lenin's trust in the masses, relying on their revolutionary habits.

Comrades, Friends: While commemorating the 90th birthday of the great proletariat leader, Lenin, we are in very fortunate circumstances. Internationally, the east wind is blowing strong, and the west wind is

dying down. In the domestic sphere, there is a nation-wide stirring of a tide for building socialism. Let us raise higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and the red flag of the main line, of a big leap forward, and communes; and under the guidance of the Party Central Committee and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, march forward victoriously on the road opened for us by the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat.

Hail to ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

IV. THE POOR SHOULD BE MORE REVOLUTIONARY

24 April 1960
Page 5

To'eng Shang-yu

In the excitement of the nation-wide technological revolution in this first spring of the sixties, there are many fresh features. One of these is the appearance, at the beginning of the movement, of a vanguard of small plants with old equipment and poor working conditions, low labor efficiency, yet under severe pressure of duties, and big plants with similar workshops which have not one skilled worker or machine, depending only on the Chih-ch'eng-hsing iron-works which started a revolution with a pair of tongs. Examples may be enumerated as follows: the volcano-like Lien-hua-tai steel works, the Hua-sheng paper-box plant with only a few women workers who never saw machines before, and the Ch'ung-chien workshop in the Shanghai Electric Works which has the poorest equipment and which is least visited. Comrade K'o-ch'ing-shih points out: "These vanguards are 'bare cudgel societies' in an empire-system on the industrial front. If any one of these units gets ahead, the movement has a vanguard, strongly proving the truth when poor, one thinks of change and the poorer one gets the more one thinks of revolution. [Approximation]

Poverty means backwardness, hardship, and poor conditions. Of course, these are not considered good things. Else, all could "rest easy in poverty, rejoicing in a good doctrine", without ever thinking of revolution. However, poverty often functions as a pressure on men, or as a stimulus, making them unable ever again to be "content with the present situation", but feel that a revolution must come. Hence, poverty is also something good. Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: "Besides other features, the distinguishing mark of China's 600 million people is 'poor and bare'". At first glance, this seems something bad, but it is really good. Poverty gives people the impetus to think of change, to do, to have a revolution. A sheet of blank paper has no responsibility. On it you can write the newest and handsomest words, draw the newest and prettiest pictures." ("Description of Cooperatives") Poverty means change and the desire for revolution; if the change is successful, advance follows. This best describes many units in the big leap forward, which have quickly changed their character in productivity.

Poverty and wealth arise from contrast. Without hills, plains do not appear. Before machines were invented, no one thought that handiwork was an evidence of poverty. Poverty was an indication that men had not yet gone far in subduing nature. The production of every kind of article has its own objective laws; when these laws are understood, and machines are invented and put to use, and gauges put on to control them, men can go on producing "more, quicker, better and cheaper". If you have not fully worked out the laws, if you cannot fully control the machines, then there will be conflict. Do you want to produce more? In the work-place is a "volcano", which makes you sweat like rain, but still

you cannot satisfy the demand for increased production; work on the paper boxes tires your back and hands till they are sore, yet any increase in production is slight. Here is conflict. The poorer you are, the more acute the conflict will be. The parties to the conflict struggle against each other, and this compels men to insist on revolution.

Revolution means that you cannot go on living in the same old way, that you cannot but find a new method, a new path. If you feel that the present days are passable, and if you feel yourself satisfied, you will lose your revolutionary spirit. Even if a new and better plan is placed before your eyes, you will "see it without observing it". The Li-ming dyeing plant had a month's ration of coal, enough for only a day and half's production; if it should go on in the old way, with further general economizing, production could not be maintained. The fierce conflict forced the plant to make a series of renovations from the furnace to operational methods. It found that in some processes, coal could be dispersed with, and in other processes, less coal could be used. It also found that cinders from the homes or saved from the railways, may be used. Thus, the plant not only performed its production task, but also discovered a new method of economy in using coal. The China dyeing plant N.2 was pressed smaller and smaller to allow nearby plants to expand, while production demands grew heavier. This acute conflict forced the plant to break through a new opening; by "expanding through contracting", they jumped out of the old enclosure, created new ways of working, and initiated a new era for the dyeing and for some parts of the chemical industry. If these units were not at the end of the tether, and the conflict was not so acute, perhaps they could not have so quickly cleared out such a happy place where "willows bloom".

The poorer one gets the more revolutionary he becomes. Is this because the poor have no responsibility and never did have; or because they have very little and do not fear losing it in a crisis? Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" shows that proletarians in a revolution "lose only their chains, and what they gain is the whole world". This point can also be used to bring out the condition of those who take the lead in the technological revolution. In this revolutionary storm, what they lose is only their carrying-poles, hammers, "volcanoes", clumsy physical labor, back-handiwork operations, low labor efficiency in production; but what they gain will be modern methods of production, better labor conditions, higher labor efficiency, the speed of the leap forward, higher quality goods. They call this revolution "the second liberation" after the political and economic upturn of the first revolution. So in this revolution they have nothing to fear or worry about. With one good leader, they press forward. They are not concerned about whether this will "destroy the even process", "ruin the order of progression in production"; nor are they concerned about whether the things they make are "outlandish" or about what we shall do "if haply they do not succeed". Therefore, they have the courage to think, do, change, and "renovate".

The poorer one gets the greater will be his talent for revolution. Such a statement seems unscientific: if one has never even seen poverty, machines, or equipment, where does talent come from? In fact, the statement is scientific. After a long period of activity in productive labor, workers have accumulated rich experience and wisdom, but in ordinary times this has not been focussed, and its usefulness not fully brought out. Poverty conditions and fierce conflicts force men to turn to revolution; in straitened circumstances wisdom is born. Day and night they think of revolution, they dream of it, they are unhappy unless it comes. As a result, the constantly accumulating wisdom explodes like a volcano, and gathers force. People would think up things that elude others and do things that others cannot do. Many problems that appear complicated can be solved in a very simple way, namely the "way of poverty". This is the intellectual power of "the lowly", or the talent which is found in "the poor".

If one thinks of change, the poorer he is the more revolutionary he will be. This is a universal law. As far as the individual is concerned the crucial question of change or no change, big change or small change, fast change or slow change, whether to persist in revolution or not, lies in his will and endeavor. The same is true of small plants that are backward. The Chih-ch'eng-hsing and Lien-hua go on in front; likewise the Ch'ung-chien shop in the Electric Plant showed a big difference before and after boldly making up its mind. Poverty is not to be feared, but rather, lack of will. If poor and lack of will, the poorer one gets the more self-depreciating he will become. He will consider himself unable to do the unable to do that and revolution will never succeed, and the state of poverty will never change to that of wealth. The working-class, armed by us with Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts, bears the great historical duty of hastening the socialist revolution and pushing the revolution into Communism. We have the stout will-power of Communism. We will never let backward production conditions or methods of operation tie our hands and feet, nor will we willingly live a life of "poor and bare"; so we just must start a revolution against it.

It has been said above that poverty and wealth are a matter of contrast. We can be rich at one point, and poor at another. Compared with the past, we are rich today; but compared with further desires, we are still poor. Knowing the law that the poorer the more revolutionary, we must continually hunt for the spots where we ourselves are "poor", always bearing in mind the objectives of revolution, not congratulating ourselves over a little success, satisfied with the present, and halting there.

Speaking of our Shanghai, it may be called a rather rich city, as compared with the whole nation; our level of production is rather advanced on the whole. However, Shanghai too has its poor spots. Shortage of raw materials is one of these. Knowing this, we may consciously devote ourselves to revolution in this matter; carrying on a revolution in design of articles, in the ways of industrial arts, or

making a ton of steel or coal do the work of $1\frac{1}{2}$, working hard at combined use of materials, fully using waste materials, waste water, and coolies, taking endless quantities of air, and sea-water to extract therefrom raw materials, or create them. This is to say, that given the will-power, the shortage of raw materials may force us to break through to a new "heaven and earth".

Again for example, mechanization, or semi-mechanization, as contrasted with backward handiwork, or clumsy physical labor of course shows up as "rich"; but compared with the demands for further expansion of production, it is still very poor. We should constantly ask ourselves why we still cannot produce high-grade articles, or cannot do so in quantity; why are there some very advanced techniques which we cannot master through long practice. We should remember well that on the whole our country has essentially changed its status of "poor and bare". We must still unceasingly carry on the change and revolution.

Even in the future, when our condition will have become far richer than now, we will still want to set up the objective of being richer yet, constantly keeping ourselves in the process of change and revolution, always standing on the revolution's front line, ever advancing towards a yet higher objective.

V. UNLIMITED SOURCES OF CREATIVE POWER AMONG THE MASSES

24 April 1959

Cheng Chung

Page 5

Fifteen years ago today, Chairman Mao at the Seventh National Congress delivered a political speech "On Coalition Government". At that time China was on the eve of winning the war against Japan. The people were eagerly expectant of defeating the Japanese aggressors and building an independent, free, democratic, united new China. Chairman Mao, in his speech, deeply analyzed the then domestic and international situation, and clearly pointed out to the whole Party and people a bright road and a glorious task. He defined his aim and policy for accomplishing this task, thus giving much encouragement to the vast population. The basic ideas set forth in the speech concerned the then revolution of the New Democracy and the later socialist revolution, and the present series of victories in building socialism, all having weighty significance as a guidance. Today in reviewing this historically significant speech by Chairman Mao, we realize more deeply the greatness and correctness of his thoughts.

In this great piece of writing, Chairman Mao summarized his valuable experiences during 24 years of struggle. He creatively used and developed the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism on uniting theory and practice, the doctrine of the Party on the mass-line, and the doctrine of self-criticism. The mass-line is the Party's fundamental line in politics and organization, whether in the period of revolution or construction; our Party has always successfully used the mass-line, which caused China's revolution to score one victory after another. At present, as the technological revolution progresses and the socialist construction is being carried out with an unprecedented speed, when the masses' active and creative qualities are fully manifested, Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts are being more thoroughly learned, and the Party's mass-line more fully applied with the result that the Party's relations with the masses are further cemented the building of socialism is further expedited.

Chairman Mao has often told us: History is man-made; the creative power of the masses is unlimited; if we rely on the people, and trust their being welded together, we can overcome any obstacle. No enemy can overthrow us, but will only be crushed by us. This is the reason why the mass-line has become our Party's basic political and organization line. Whether in the class struggle or in the production struggle we must apply it always. Herein lies the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism regarding the masses.

The fundamental objective of our Party in leading the masses during several decades of revolution and construction is the desire to liberate their social productivity and to develop it, to make the old "poor and bare" China to become quickly a socialist strong nation with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture, and to prepare for

the transition to Communism. This affects the revolutionary movement of 600 million people. It is a tremendous change, one that the old China never knew during the past several thousand years. To complete this great historical task, only by fully arousing the multitude, only by fully bringing out the earnestness of several hundred million people and their rich experience and knowledge accumulated in the actual production struggle, can we greatly speed up the growth of social productivity.

On the industrial front, after two years of continuous leap forward, and after the nation-wide technological reform and revolution which began this year, we have been more than ever conscious of the question whether to rely on the many or the few, whether to stress mass-movements or not. It is a conflict between two lines or methods in leading industrial production. Also, it is a basic question of whether or not we are observing the Party main line. Experience shows that wherever we can closely rely on the masses to develop production and start a technological revolution, there will always be success. The result will be "much, quick, good cheap". Opposite to this is another line that does not want popular movements. It relies only on the few, depends only on executive orders from above to get things done, and resorts to old ways for control of production. The outcome is getting away from the masses, tying down their activity and initiative. In a workshop of the Shanghai Electric Works, a dispute between the two lines took place. Some of the cadres in this workshop claimed that their products were large, high precisioned, and the techniques used are complicated; hence mass movements should not be used, and production be done in teams and classes. However, other cadres did not see it that way. They said that whatever the circumstances, mass-movements on a large scale should be encouraged. Some years before, during a scramble for executive positions, production in this shop was for a long time carried out listlessly; only a few thousand KWs could be generated in a year, and only gasoline motors making some dozen KW. After the reform movement, the rightist ideas of some were overcome. The idea of the mass-line grew stronger among managers and cadres, and the status of production changed. Relying on the full exercise of the masses' eagerness, the production of motors increased year after year, and the time required for building a large-size engine was reduced from 1 year to 6 months, then to 3 months and finally to 17 days.

Beginning this year, technical reforms and renovations with a view to achieving semi- and full-mechanization, semi and full automation, under the intelligent guidance of the Party central committee and Chairman Mao, in a few months quickly spread to each district and each business, becoming a popular, scientific mass-movement, with vigor so strong, results so large, and speed so great, that we appreciate more deeply the great meaning of the Party mass-line. This was exemplified by the famous Chih-ch'eng-hsing iron-works which "started a revolution with a cabbage-knife", the Lien-hua steel works which became famous in

a 7-day revolution; and the Hu-kang apparatus plant which accomplished its renovations with poor equipment and low skills. With regard to the Shanghai Electric Works, its technological revolution began in a certain workshop, quickly spread to the entire plant, and in a short period of two months resulted in a radical change to automation which was unimaginable before. The technological reconstruction program for the whole year was astonishingly completed in a few days, or even in one evening. The proportion of plants mechanized in whole or in part quickly grew from 49% to over 93%. The movement started with changing one machine at a time, then a row of machines, and finally in larger units. Now 54 assembly lines have been set up, and 300 machines have become automatic. Men's minds, following the technological revolution, have been deeply changed, and Communist ideas have become more widespread, striking roots deeply into the masses. Facts once more declare that among a myriad methods, the mass-line stands out first. Just let us hold firmly to the Party mass-line, and organize big popular movements, and we can establish socialism with the greatest speed.

II

In order to carry out the mass-line in Party work, and exercise the correct guidance, we must establish in thought a lasting mass-viewpoint.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: "We Communists have another clear mark of distinction from any other political party, in that we get the closest connections with the largest number of people." He asks us to "serve the people with all our heart and mind, and not to get away from them for a moment". The Party's frequent reforms and unending opposition to rightism and its efforts to arouse fervor represent one important aspect of its work -- the teaching of cadres to maintain regularly close touch with the masses and to wage unrelenting struggle against all mistaken ideas and habits in work that are aloof from the masses, and promptly correct any conflicts between superstructure and economic foundation, between the means of and the strength for production, and promote the expansion of social productivity. In the technological revolution that is proceeding smoothly, cadres must be closely united with the masses. Cadres are not on a level above the masses; they should be among them, eating, living and laboring with them. Among the metal-workers in the aforesaid workshop of the Shanghai Electric Works, before the technological revolution, there was a ditty:

"Beat and bang, the metals clang,
Jobs awaiting, more and more;
In several hours, of toil like ours,
Legs and back and whole self sore".

Shop cadres, on hearing these complaints, appreciated the deep desire of the workers to get away from their clumsy toil. They helped the crowd to mechanize their work and made radical changes in production. The workmen then said, "The Party has given us a second liberation". The shop cadres found that if they did not have close relations with the crowd, they would be bored with such mournful songs. In the widespread technological revolution, countless vivid experiences have taught us that at no time, or at any specific juncture may we get away from the masses for a moment. Whether at the beginning of a movement, or at the stage of confirming, spreading, or raising it, if we relax our close ties with the masses, we will let the movement slow down or even fail half-way. The technological revolution is like this, and so are other forms of work. Therefore in our thinking we must firmly implant the idea of serving the people with all our hearts, never for one moment getting away from the mass viewpoint, which is of paramount importance in applying the mass-line.

To serve the people well, and contribute more, it is not enough to depend solely on personal desires. Often because of a personal twist in our way of thinking and in our manners, we are away from the multitude, and become haughty; this will spoil things or make a mess of what is otherwise good. Chairman Mao tells us: "In whatever tasks, whatever policies or manners of work, all of us must be adaptable to the masses of the locale or time, and all of us must concern about the public; tasks, policies, or manners of work that do not meet the desires of the local people at the time are incorrect and are aloof from the masses". For this reason, as far as we are concerned, in all things start from reality, consult with the masses, and we will have specially important meaning. In this technological revolution, the conflict between coarse and fine concerns the important question of whether we want a popular movement or not. Seeking to conjoin the two while giving primacy to the coarse can show great power and do wonders, because this aim proceeds from reality and is in accord with the urgent desire of the masses. Countless facts have already shown us: The coarse way of doing is native-born and native-grown, simple and feasible, proceeds from reality, is well-known to the public, easy to master; so the public can all take hold, each one taking part, fully showing his creative talent, making an impressive mass-movement. If we resolutely carry out this aim, we can cause the revolution to advance without interruption. This is a path that is "much, quick, good, cheap". The reason we must resolutely resist ideas and ways that put the fine first, is because it excludes the masses from the technological revolution, and as a result we cannot have a booming mass-movement. The final outcome will certainly be "little, slow, poor, wasteful".

III

Persistently believing that the masses' creative power is unlimited, believing that they can liberate themselves is a basic viewpoint we must have in order to carry out the Party's mass-line. The great projects we are pursuing today represent the highest interests of the vast masses. No matter how difficult a project may be, if the masses join in the struggle, it can certainly be accomplished. Contrariwise, without believing in and relying on the masses, progress will be very slow. Two workshops in the Shanghai Electric Works are shining examples. Cadres in one believed in the masses, relied on them and aided their revolutionary creative spirit, and the masses put more and more energy into it, with more and more reform methods; while in the other shop, at the beginning of the movement, some cadres had no faith in the masses' knowledge, saying that there were too many women workers, mothers, art devotees and not enough metal-workers and equipment, that arousing the multitude could not solve problems, and that to use machines to do handiwork, help from other shops would be needed. The two ways of thinking, the two viewpoints, gave rise to two sets of entirely different results in one shop, workers were warm, looking upwards, in the other, workers were cold and listless. After an analysis of the contrast, cadres of the second shop got an impressive ideological lesson in the mass-line. After they condemned the mistaken viewpoint of not relying on the masses and of lacking the spirit of self-renewal, and had freely aroused the crowd, the situation changed completely; in 3 days, a tide was aroused, the status changed within a week; the women workers threw their outmoded tools out of the shop, and attained their long-time wish to replace hand operations with machines. This shows that if in our thinking we have not implanted the viewpoint of believing that workmen can liberate themselves, we cannot properly apply the mass-line.

Of course, there are progressive, mediocre and backward elements among the masses. To those who are temporarily in a backward state, it is our duty to use every effective method of self-culture to raise their consciousness, to believe that under definite conditions, backwardness can be transformed into progressiveness. This is the law of growth. In this booming technological revolution, many places have shown groups and individuals, originally in a backward state, who have risen and caught up with units and persons that were at first progressive. The reason why the backward can become progressive lies chiefly in our observing the active factors among the masses, and improving their thought-education. Ceaselessly to broaden the ranks of progressives, this is the prerequisite of gaining success in any work.

The masses' wisdom is unlimited. In the productive experiences of the masses as they build socialism, depending on their rich experience and creative talent, their constant making of new things, especially since this year's big technological revolution, wonders done by

the masses have been numerous; many problems once thought unsoluble are now quickly solved by the masses, and many things waiting long to be done are now accomplished in a short time. To escape their backward hand labor and change the conditions of production, many workmen think of the technological revolution even at mealtime, while walking and in their sleep. Many ordinary things that usually are not noticed give them inspirations. They find solutions to mysterious technical problems, causing kaleidoscopic changes in production. Facing such a situation, just let us leave the masses' actual struggle for a moment, and we will fall behind. Comrade Mao frequently tells us: Any prince or hero, his thoughts, opinions, plans, ways, can only be a reflection of the outside world. His materials or half-done products can only come out of the masses' experience or learned through his scientific experiments; his head can only function as a finishing plant. Otherwise, it is of no use at all. To make our work constantly meet the needs of the new situation, we must observe his instructions, we must unite with the masses, always learning from them, always drawing on them for "nourishment" with which to enrich ourselves.

* * *

The actual experience of several decades of revolution and construction proves that in any kind of work we cannot ignore the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts. As we today observe the 15th anniversary of the publication of "On Coalition Government", we want to raise still higher that banner, and under the bright torch of the Party main line, boldly press forward to yet greater victories.

5113

- END -